

of engagement, that force will do nothing to confront Serb aggression.

Mr. President, it would be an exaggeration to suggest that the situation in Bosnia is at a diplomatic standstill. It is moving backward. It appears that the closest the Western Powers can get to a negotiated solution is to reward the Serbian dictator who started this entire war by easing the sanctions against his country. Even this effort—which is an embarrassment to the United States—has fallen short.

So in recognition of this failure, and as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I declare that it is time for us to take a step which should have happened 3 years ago. We must approve this legislation to lift the arms embargo against the Bosnians and allow those people to defend themselves.

I thank the Chair and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who seeks recognition?

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I will repeat my earlier unanimous consent request. I understand that we need to start this whole routine over again. I am going to have two unanimous-consent requests.

First, I ask unanimous consent that the pending bill, S. 343, be temporarily laid aside and the Foreign Relations Committee be discharged from further consideration of S. 21, and the Senate turn to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I further ask that the Senate resume S. 343 after the disposition of S. 21, as amended, if amended, and no call for the regular order serve to displace S. 21, except one made by the majority leader, after notification of the minority leader—and he can be assured that he would get proper notification on that—and if a call for the regular order is made, there be 1 hour for debate, to be equally divided in the usual form, to be followed by the third cloture vote on the Dole-Johnston substitute, and the mandatory quorum under rule XXII be waived.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SANTORUM). Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I do not want to confuse the matter any more, so I waited until after the unanimous consent request was proffered.

Let me make sure my colleagues are clear as to what the circumstances are now. I have had the opportunity to consult with the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin. It is my intention to protect his right to offer a sense-of-the-Senate resolution either before cloture or after cloture, if a cloture motion is required; or if no cloture motion is required, we will negotiate with the majority to ensure that the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin has an opportunity to raise the issue that he hopes to address through this sense-of-the-Senate resolution. I appreciate his cooperation in this regard, and as a result, we are now able to go forward.

I think this is a good solution to the matter, and I appreciate everyone's consideration and cooperation.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I want to reiterate, in view of the unanimous consent agreement that we did reach, that was the last issue of the day in terms of recorded votes. There will be no recorded votes until tomorrow when an agreement is reached on when the next vote will be scheduled. There will be no further recorded votes tonight.

I yield the floor.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA SELF-DEFENSE ACT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 21) to terminate the United States arms embargo applicable to the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, let me take this opportunity to thank the Senator from Mississippi and the Democratic leader for their help on resolving the issue.

I did not want to offer the sense-of-the-Senate resolution during the core of the debate on the substance of the bill. I do think it is relevant to this bill. I want to thank them for their cooperation.

Mr. LOTT. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I should like to take this occasion to speak strongly in favor of S. 21, the majority leader's resolution on Bosnia.

Mr. President, we have now, for more than 3 years, watched—and I use that word advisedly “watched”—the ongoing tragedy of Bosnia. The aggressions, the rapes, the cold-blooded murders, the ethnic cleansing, which has accompanied the dismemberment of a nation, recognized as a nation, and a member of the United Nations.

We have an administration which has constantly threatened action, and every bit as constantly walked away from that action when its bluff was called.

We have a U.N. protective force which has protected no one but the aggressors. A force dispatched to Bosnia to provide some kind of safety for the victims of aggression has shown itself unable to do so time after time and place after place. Whether around Sarajevo, whether in the isolated areas of refuge, whether in the northwest part of the country—its fate has been the same.

Its fate has either been to protect the Bosnian Serb aggressors against any kind of military action on the part of the United Nations, no matter how modest and ineffective by its very presence and by the ease with which the Bosnian Serbs can take the U.N. personnel as hostage; or alternatively, as was the case just 10 days ago, as an entity which disarmed the defenders of these enclaves and then provided absolutely no defense or support for essentially unarmed victims who now, themselves, are the latest example of the victims of the Serbs' ethnic cleansing.

Mr. President, the former President of the United States, George Bush, was wrong in enforcing an arms embargo against the Bosnians. President Clinton has repeated that and has been wrong to enforce that arms embargo against the Bosnians.

As recently as lunch time today, the caucuses of both parties listened to the same tired presentation from the Secretary of State, and in this case from the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that we have heard for this entire 3 years. That somehow or another to do something, change our policy, to allow those who wish to defend themselves to do so, would lead to some even worse disaster, the taking of more hostages among the U.N. forces, to more deaths and ethnic displacement on the part of the Bosnians.

Yet, the use of this excuse, Mr. President, has resulted in 3 years of violence and displacement and ethnic cleansing and an end to the belief of the United Nations to act effectively in connection with a catastrophe of this sort, and undercutting of the ability of NATO, and most significantly, a lack of belief in the United States of America.

Mr. President, it is simply time to end that bankrupt policy. The proposal that the majority leader has brought to the Senate ends the embargo on one of two conditions: a decision by the United Nations or by the countries supplying troops to the United Nations in Bosnia to withdraw; or a request from the legal Government of Bosnia that the United States lift the arms embargo and a notification to the U.N. Security Council that it has requested that those forces leave.

Mr. President, that is putting the ultimate fate of the Republic of Bosnia squarely in the hands of its own elected